

IF THEY HAVE THEIR WAY

By Herbert Quick

WHEN Mr. Edward G. Lowry was giving us the information that every sixty-eighth person in this country old enough to earn a living is working for the United States Government I wish he had added up the numbers of people in the army, navy, state, city, town, county, village and township employ. Thus the whole government pay roll would have been taken in. Each of us could then have told what part of a person he has to support, in addition to his own family. It would be a goodly fraction. And I wish he had given us what the economists and statisticians call a graph—one of those sheets with squares all over it, and figures along the edge, and wiggly lines climbing up and down and across. Such a graph would perhaps arouse angry passions, but sometimes that is just what the country needs.

With such a chart the wayfaring man, though a fool, as most of us are, in a manner of speaking, could compute how long it will be at this rate before we shall all be working for the Government—a Leninish consummation devoutly to be avoided. But the present writer is not permitted to draw the many interesting conclusions which yearn to be pointed out. Working for the Government is a great industry; but my theme is another great occupation—that of making a living by telling the Government how to govern. This is what Dave Cowan would call "a good loose trade." Anyone may take it up. There are great opportunities in it, for it is growing fast, this good loose trade of working on the Government while it governs. And when the rapidly approaching time arrives when everybody will be working for the Government, thus making a living by marceling each other's hair and shaving each other, these unofficial governors of the Government will naturally be the floorwalkers, shift bosses, foremen and department managers. That may be why they are hopping in such an amazing way to this good loose trade now under discussion.

The accepted idea of the way the Government is swayed by outsiders is that it is done by the old-fashioned lobbyist—a dark man with a bundle or a woman

with a pull—all working in subterranean ways. But it is not of underground lobbies I speak. I sing the bureau, the conference, the institute, the committee, the league, the legion, the brotherhood, the sorority, the association, the congress, the people with the offices in the Munsey, the Southern and other office buildings. Not dark men are these, but bright archangelic creatures who, instead of lurking in lobbies, have lobbies of their own. Instead of burrowing underground, they soar in the empyrean. Instead of doing corrosive work on our institutions in silence, they have trumpets blown before them as they attend hearings, and the more of the pipe and timbrel and instrument of ten strings there is in evidence, the better it suits them. And every one of them, fellow citizens, represents either nothing at all, which is often the case, or an organized minority, a special instrument, as against the great unorganized majority—which means you and me.

The Collar Button War

I WONDER if I can make the non-Washingtonian understand. Perhaps the history of a joke will suffice—for jokes, mind you, are always realities with the reverse English. A few of us one evening were dining in Washington at that period of the war when the watchword was to save not only civilization but leather and clothes and rags and

paper and old iron and everything. One of our party, having grown weary of some of these importunities, said that he had in mind a typical scheme for economy. He was organizing the American Association for the Conservation of Collar Buttons. The rear collar button, our satirist said, and proved, is unnecessary. Think of the aggregate in gold and filling and labor wasted in this indulgence! He had already in mind a man who would underwrite this association—that is, he would give us his name, for we all were ready to join by this time, and by reason of our using his name he would let us have a part of his bank account. Of course we would have to have a badge—something that would call attention to the saving we were effecting. And for a badge, what more chaste and expressive than a collar button worn in the lapel of the coat?

But before we had gone to the badge stage some of us were to sound the alarm in the ears of the manufacturers of collar buttons and urge them to repel this attack on their business. Thus would be organized the National Collar Button Institute, and the names and the bank accounts of the manufacturers, too, would thus be utilized. Both the Anti-Collar-Button Association and the Collar Button Institute would have Washington offices with you-know-who in charge, with secretaries, economists, statisticians and clerks, and experts to attend hearings on such bills as we should see were introduced to accomplish our ostensible objects. And all this time the number of collar buttons worn would be exactly the same as if nothing had been done. Just a bit of persiflage, you say? Nay, it illustrates perfectly the workings of this new, good loose trade. Here's a true one—no, I shall not tell exactly what the industry is, for the boys were not and are not conscious of doing anything out of the ordinary. It was just a job with them. So let us call it the Bureau for Extracting Sunshine from Cucumbers. That is near enough, and is recognizable by any person in the trade; but remember that aside from the subject matter, which I have masked, I am narrating facts.

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Two newspaper men were out of jobs—and let us note here that many of these organizations which we may for want of a better name call job bureaus, as well as some which are the real thing in power, are operated by newspaper men. These two young men organized a nice job-bureau which they called the Bureau for the Extraction of Sunshine From Cucumbers, and soon had a national organization, with offices in Washington, experts, engineers, stenographers and the rest of it, and representatives to appear at every hearing before any committee which could by any stretch of its authority be regarded as dealing with the cucumber-sunshine question. Bills were introduced, new congressmen intimidated, and old Solons labored with when they could be got at. Reports and circulars were sent out, and the membership grew rapidly and extended not only to those who intended, when the law passed, to enter the cucumber-sunshine business, but to owners of cucumber patches, actual or potential, and the drainage and irrigation of potential cucumber lands was just about to be taken up by the boys, when something happened. The very worst happened. Congress passed their law! Alack and woe! Ruin stalked abroad. There was no more leaguering and bureausing to do. There was one bureau the less. The boys were ruined by success, and had to go back to work again.

The secret of a successful job league very often lies in having an issue that can never succeed. I remember a fine old gentleman who must have shuddered at his narrow escape from success. I never knew a more industrious job institutor. Three experienced legislators out of four would run from him as from the Old Man of the Sea, to whom he bore some resemblance.

He did lots of good. He had a good case. He presented it ably. He championed an idea when it was in the agitational stage, and he did it very well indeed. Finally an awful day came. Disaster faced him. His law was about to be passed! He was facing the calamity that overtook the sunshine-from-cucumbers organization, the worst misfortune which can come to a man in the job-council business—he faced success. But he was wiser than those boys, and he escaped. General Grant lost thousands of men in making his change of base from the York to the James, but our nice old job committee-man made quite as radical a change of base in the face of the enemy, without the loss of a man or a dollar, so far as I know. He trumped Fate's ace by shifting the demand of his bureau to a demand for something that could never, never come to pass. And he got by with it.

All Sorts and Conditions

Let me not convey the thought, however, that the job bureau is the only sort engaged in governing our governing bodies. This would be a very gross error. There are institutes, committees, conferences, leagues, headquarters, and the like. Neither are the bureaus without good causes, that are bad. Some of them are great luminaries, shedding light on their subjects, and an occasional gleam on Congress or the Cabinet or great divisions of the Government or even the White House itself. Some are like those heavenly bodies that give no light, dark stars, which exert a gravitational pull on the luminaries. When you see a great governmental light wabbling or awaying out of its grand, promised and pledged orbital sweep, it is fair to consider whether or not the eccentricity is due to the pull of one of these unseen dark stars. But whether the bureau works in light or in darkness, whether its cause is bad or good, it is an organized minority, working for laws and regulations to apply to the persons or pocketbooks of us—the great unorganized majority. This is the real point.

Nearly all these numerous bureaus have offices. Perhaps a majority of the offices are in Washington. Some have names that are self-explanatory. Some have no names at all. Some wolf bureaus have sheep names. Some that were originally job federations merely have grown until they represent much more than bread and butter for their organizers. Some are in the transition stage between mere ostensibility and the real thing. Many of these bureaus and societies have been organized by sincere

people who strive to make them something better than mere jobs, and some are run by consecrated souls who stick on year after year at beggarly stipends wrung from reluctant contributors to the great cause, when they could go out into the world, and by an equal outlay in brains and energy make what the average man would call a success in life, instead of what to the world's eye looks like a failure. Some actually get smaller pay than the university-educated technical research workers of the Government, if you can believe it! Some of them I greatly admire. Some, I suspect, ought to be deported. Anyhow, they represent organized minorities, even those to which I belong.

Among Those Present

Without exception, almost, they seek to bring pressure on Congress or some branch of the Government or on political parties. The American Federation of Labor is one of them, and last year tried to influence the conventions, and then the election. You know with what success. The American Railway Association is another, and in a different way did the same thing. To the extent to which these organizations—be they institutes, corporations, brotherhoods, sororities or what not—control the nation, and that is to a very large extent, they crowd out the great unorganized majority, of which you and I, dear reader, are members.

Would you like to see a list of some of them? I have compiled—with some difficulty, after I got the first hundred or so—a list of organizations, in which the obscure and the prominent, the useful and those that are perhaps not so useful, the ones active for radicalism and the bureaus of conservatism are mingled. There may be some repetitions. Many of those included may deny that they belong. Here they are, however:

American Country Life Association
American Committee of Justice
American Bankers Association
American Dye Institute
American Legion
American Federation of Labor
American Woman's Legion of the Great War
American Automobile Association
American Farm Bureau Federation
American Association of Colleges
American Association of Mexico
American League of Justice of California
American Posture League
American Bar Association
American Wholesale Coal Association
American Short Line Railroad Association
American Mining Congress
American Child Hygiene Association
American Medical Liberty League
American Home Economics Society
American Library Association
American Medical Association
American Public Health Association
Association for the Advancement of Progressive Education
American Manufacturers Export Association
American Association of Engineers
American Beet Sugar Association
American Bureau of Trade Extension
American Publishers Association
American Realty Exchange
American Patent Law Association
American Railway Association
American Electric Railway War Board
American Agricultural Association
American Train Dispatchers Association
American Women's Relief Committee
Anti-Saloon League
American Peace Society
American Union Against Militarism
Association of Railway Executives
American Railway Security Owners Association
American Association for the Advancement of Science
American Association of the Joint Stock Land Banks
American Chemical Society
American Civic Association
American Civil Liberties Union
Asphalt Association
Association for Prevention of Tuberculosis
Astronomical Research Society
American National Live Stock Association
American Women's Emergency Committee
American Alliance for Trade with Russia
American Association for Labor Legislation
American Nurses Association
Boy Scouts of America
Board of Home Missions
Brotherhood of Railway Clerks
Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen
Bureau of Jewish Statistics
British-Canadian Society
Board of Temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church
Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America
Child Health Organization

Chemical Alliance Incorporated
Citizens Medical Reference Bureau
Community Development Service
Community Center Association
Carnegie Foundation
Council of Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations
Council of Jewish Women
Council of Church Boards of Education
Council of National Defense
Child Welfare Society
Committee of Manufacturers and Merchants on Federal Taxation
Cane Growers Association
Christian Science Association
Coöperative League of America
Dixie Freight Traffic Association
Elizabeth Cady Stanton League
Eastern Agricultural Bureau
Federation for Child Study
Federal Highway Council
Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union
Freethinkers League
Federal Council of Churches
Farmers National Headquarters
Farmers National Council
Friends of Ukraine
Free Press Defense League
Grand Army of the Republic
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Girl Scouts of America
Gentlewomen's League
Hawaiian Protective Association
Highway Industries Association
Housekeepers Alliance
International Kindergarten Union
Intestate Cottonseed Crushers Association
Institute of American Meat Packers
Institute of Independent Manufacturers of Margarin
Independent Order of B'nai B'rith
Interchurch World Movement
International Health Board (Rockefeller Foundation)
Irish National Bureau
International Association of Machinists
International Association of Rotary Clubs
International Brotherhood of Electric Workers
International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men
Ink Association
Japanese Association Incorporated
Jewish Press Service of America
Journeyman Barbers Union
Korean Relief Society League
League for the Preservation of Sunday Recreation
League of Foreign Born Citizens
League for Medical Freedom
League of American Pen Women
League of Free Nations Association
Lithuanian National Council
Lithuanian Information Bureau
League for Preservation of American Independence
Maintenance of Way Employees
Manufacturing Chemists Association of America
National American Council
National Association of Manufacturers
National Budget Committee
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
National Women's Association of Commerce
National Civic Federation
National Women's Christian Temperance Union
National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Associations
National Federation of Teachers
National League of Women Voters
National Inside Association of America
National Catholic War Council
National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation
National Organization for Public Health Nursing
National Security League
National Kindergarten Association
National Council of Women of the United States
National Order of New Patriots
National American Woman Suffrage Association
National Merchant Marine Association
National and State Bankers Protective Association
National Progressive Education Association
National Popular Government League
National Opera Association
National German-American League
National Fertilizer Association
National Coal Association
National Retail Drygoods Association
National Public Works Departments Association
National Physical Education Service
National Petroleum Association
National Lumber Manufacturers Association
National Lime Association
National League of Commission Merchants
National Industrial Conference Board
National Grange
National Founders Association
National Council of Cotton Manufacturers
National Automobile Chamber of Commerce
National Association of Real Estate Boards
National Association of Credit Men
National Board of Union Women's Associations
National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution
National Women's Trade Union League
National Conference of Catholic Charities
National Society for Humane Regulation of Vivisection
National Board of Farm Organizations

National Catholic Welfare Council
National Child Labor Committee
National Tuberculosis Association
National Education Association
National Women's Peace Party
National Consumers League
National Woman's Party
National Congress of the Building and Construction Industry
National Mouth Hygiene Association
National Community Board
National Cannery Association
National Bureau of Wholesale Lumber Distributors
National Oil Bureau
National Association of Railway and Public Utilities Commission
National Committee on Gas and Electric Service
National Committee on Public Utilities Conditions
National Federation of Federal Employees
National Federation of Postoffice Clerks
National Association of Letter Carriers
Navy League
National Association of Colored Races
National Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief
National Temperance Bureau
National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico
National Association for Constitutional Governmentment
National Civil Service Reform League
National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor
National Committee to Secure Rank for Army Nurses
National Industrial Council
National Committee for Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief
National Negro Business League
National Committee for District of Columbia Suffrage
National Patriotic Press
National Voters League
National Forestry Association
National Army Nurse Corps
National Association Collegiate Alumnae
National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors
National Business and Professional Women's League
National Community Service
National Consumers League
National Federation of College Women's Clubs
National League of American Pen Women
National Red Cross Nurses
National Association of Mercantile Agencies
National Camp and Health League
National Cereal Beverage Association
National Child Health Council
National Conservation Association
National Federation of Milk Producers
National League of Commission Merchants of the United States
National Parks Association
National Petroleum Association
National Preserves and Fruit Products Association
National Retail Dry Goods Association
National Varnish Manufacturers Association
National Federation of Federal Employees
National Women's Pen League
National Women's Press Club
Order of the Eastern Star
Osteopathic Association
People's Reconstruction League
Polish Women's Alliance
Plumb Plan League
Polish Information Bureau
Peace League of the World
Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion
Physicians' Protective Association
Prisoners Relief Society
Portland Cement Association
Prepared Roofing and Shingling Manufacturers Association
Russell Sage Foundation
Rivers and Harbors Congress
Railway Accounting Officers Association
Railway Mail Association
Roofing Manufacturers Association
Southern Commercial Congress
Society for American Preparedness
Society of American Indians
Salvation Army
Sons of the American Revolution
Smokeless Coal Operators Association
Service Star League
State and Prevention Health Officers Association
Slovak League of America
Southern Industrial Education Society
The Associated General Contractors of America
Trade and Transportation Bureau
The Authors League of America Incorporated
The Proprietary Association
Tanners National Council
Texas Cotton Association
United Garment Workers of America
United Typothetis of America
United States Sugar Manufacturers Association
United States Potato Producers Association
United Daughters of the Confederacy
Vocational Education Association
Western Petroleum Refiners Association
Women's Section of the Navy League
Women's Auxiliary to the Railway Mail Association
Women's International League

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 Women's National Press Association
 Young Women's Christian Association
 Young Men's Christian Association

The writer asked a man who probably knows as much about this matter as anyone for his opinion as to the most powerful of these bodies in the Capitol. He reached into a drawer and brought forth a list of thirty-four.

"These are the big ones," said he. "But your name is not here?" I suggested interrogatively. "That makes thirty-five."

"This is a business office," said he. "Well," said I, "suppose there was a bill to be introduced in which you were interested. Which would you rather have, all the members of both houses of Congress against it and these thirty-five —"

"Thirty-four," said he. "—all these thirty-five for it—or the other way around?"

"You mean before the public line-up?" he asked.

"Yes, before the legislators were publicly committed."

"You know me," said he, "and you know which I'd take."

I do not think he would choose his list from the Congressional Directory. I could add hundreds of names to the list, and in fact hardly an issue of the daily papers comes to my desk from which I cannot get additions from the news of bureaus appearing before governmental bodies or in process of organization, or of campaigns being made. I have no doubt I could with justice and propriety take some names from the list. But not many. Some are mere job bureaus. Some are enormous organizations. Some claim great arrays of voters behind them. Some carefully avoid any such claims, but have the power to sway the voters just the same, or perhaps samer. If the reader will carefully study the above list of more than two hundred seventy names, with all its inevitable lack of completeness, he will have a bird's-eye view of the organized minorities who are influencing our governments.

A Topsy-Turvy World

It is interesting to think of the counter-currents and cross currents of these influences, and of what would happen if they had their way. Perhaps it is just as well that they to some extent kill each other off. A good deal of the time of Congress is taken up with the ceaseless tug of war of conferences, unions and leagues, which resemble the two snakes which began to swallow each other, beginning at their tails. After a while they succeeded and there were no snakes left. But what will happen if they have their way?

Country life, if they have their way, will absorb most of our population; but city life will at the same time be built up enormously by urban-tending transportation, government building loans and the like, so that city life would absorb most of our population too. If they have their way the Japanese will be free to come in as freely as British or French; but they would come in only in small numbers, in proportion to their numbers already here; and they will not be allowed to come in at all. If the bureaus have their way the bankers will be allowed to control business without limit, but the Government will stop them from doing this by curbing the banks and giving personal as well as real-estate credits. The soldiers will get a big bonus at once. The public-health service, the vocational-education board and the war-risk insurance will be practically turned over to the service of the ex-soldiers; but, though turned over to the soldiers, the public-health service will, in addition to applying itself to this work, also devote itself to rural sanitation on a great scale, and will carry on a nation-wide campaign against venereal diseases. Yet it will have all its health work in maternity and the health and physical development of children taken from it and given to another service. Also, there will be no public-health service. Nobody will be obliged to submit to quarantine or to treatment either remedial or preventive, for smallpox, bubonic plague, tetanus, tuberculosis, cholera, yellow fever, syphilis, trachoma, hookworm, leprosy, enterocolitis or any other plague or contagious disease; but also the public-health service, after it is abolished, will conduct vigorous campaigns to stamp out by law all these and other diseases, and we shall be mainly governed by the health authorities.

But the fact will be recognized and acted upon by the Government that there are no such diseases. There will be no such thing as a sanitation and medical policy backed by law; but compulsory medical treatment will be universal.

If they have their way all labor will be unionized and the closed shop universal; but also there will be no labor unions, and the employers will be backed up by law in their resistance to collective bargaining.

More Contradictions

If they have their way there will be a Department of Fine Arts, headed by a member of the Cabinet, with the unfeeling urge to power, and authority over operas, movies, statuary, pictures, education in the fine arts, and eventually, I suppose, over what appears in these columns. There will be a Department of Aeronautics. There will be a Department of Education, which with the aforesaid urge to power and through the use of United States government funds, may easily strip the states of all responsibility for and most of their control over education. There will be a Department of Transportation. There will be a Department of Forestry. There will be a Department of Mines. There will be a Department of Roads. There will be a Department of Public Safety—and we shall need it, brethren, we shall need it! There will be a Department of Public Health, which will be abolished and have a member of the Cabinet at its head. We shall become a nation of cabinet makers. A meeting of the Cabinet will be difficult to distinguish from a mob.

If they have their way every country road and side trail will be paved for the use of motor cars and trucks. Under the Departments of Roads and Transportation the motor truck and car will take over much of the traffic now handled by the railways, except for the fact that the Department of Aeronautics will put the traffic up in the air; and also that there will be inland waterways running everywhere, built by the Department of Waterways, for whose benefit the erosion of the deforested slopes and the consequent silting up of the streams will be prevented by a nationwide reforestation policy, to be carried out by the Department of Forestry.

If these organized minorities have their way the farmers will have in addition to the Federal Farm Loan Bureau a personal-credit system; but the present loaning interests will at the same time keep them from getting it. Warehouses will be erected for the storage of farm products, but hoarding of these things will be prohibited. Alcohol will be distilled from farm waste, but no alcohol will be produced for fear someone will drink it. To ask the waiter for some of the old stuff will be *prima facie* a crime.

If they have their way cotton will be stabilized in price, and wheat, wool, livestock and corn will be similarly treated. But clothing and food will be cheapened. Both the consumer and the producer will be given a free hand to do as they please, through government regulation, if they have their way.

Rates on the railways will be lowered for the traveling and shipping public, but they will be raised for the railways. There will be a prohibitive tariff on everything we raise or make, and on everything which under such a tariff we might, could, would or should raise or make; but importation of foreign goods will be encouraged so as to enable the nations of the world to pay what they owe us, and on the theory that if you sell abroad you must also make one hand wash the other by buying abroad.

If these organized minorities have their way coal, oil, the cereals, copper, meats, leather and other necessities of life will be declared public utilities, and their production and distribution controlled and regulated, if not carried on, by government commissions. At the same time their owners will be left in absolute control of

them, the principle being recognized that competition regulates price. The railways will be taken over by the Government. The railways will be run on the Plumb plan. The railways will be run by their present owners.

We shall have a navy as large as any three other nations on earth. We shall have a navy as large as any one other nation. We shall build no more battleships. We shall keep in training a mighty army. We shall make the army the greatest educational institution on earth. We shall disarm, and have no army or navy.

We shall raise our taxes on land values exclusive of improvements. We shall raise them by a tariff, which shall be at the same time prohibitive and revenue-producing. We shall abolish the excess-profits tax and raise our revenue on a sales tax. We shall do nothing of the sort. We shall resort to a real-estate tax for revenue, exempting all improvements under ten thousand dollars.

We shall protect the big oil companies in Mexico, and invade that country if necessary to give it good government—this sort of good government. We shall let Mexico work out her own problems, the oil question among others. We shall protect the small oil companies in Mexico as well as the big ones. We shall protect nobody.

We shall amend the amending clause of the Constitution so as to make future amendments easy. We shall accept the ideas of the framers of that instrument as the world's greatest prophets as well as statesmen, and not amend it at all.

If they have their way we shall have no Sunday baseball, no Sunday papers, no Sunday trains, no Sunday golf, no Sunday automobiling, no Sunday at all except the religious Sunday; but each person being properly the judge as to his behavior on Sunday, the observance of the day will at the same time be left to the individual conscience, free from legal sanctions. The prohibitory law will be relaxed so as to permit the selling of all kinds of alcoholic drinks over the bar; but such selling will be confined to eating places, and only ale, beer and wine will be sold. It will be a finable or perhaps a penitentiary offense even to offer to buy any kind of alcoholic drink, and even home brew will bring its possessor under the ban of the law. At the same time the so-called New Jersey idea will prevail. Nobody will be allowed to hold office who has ever loaned money to the liquor trade, even though a banker.

Health Work

The health of our people gives rise to many associations and leagues, and affords activities to many organized for other purposes. So, if they have their way the public-health service, though denied appropriations to carry on the work we have always regarded as necessary, will not be allowed to deal with the health problems of maternity and infancy. That will be turned over to the children's bureau co-operating with the bureau of education, through a division of child hygiene. Some of these schemes seem well on their way to passage. The bureaus supporting them are in the above list. The women of the country seem to be making a fad of supporting these organized minorities.

If they have their way, according to Doctor Lumsden, who testified at one of the hearings that is, "if the trend to specialization in health work should continue, and if the demands upon Congress for the building up of many big administrative health forces should prevail, the expense would be stupendous, and the waste of government money appalling. We could foresee one force in Washington and the state governmental machinery to look after the health work of expectant mothers and babies, another big department for children of under-school age, another for women who are not expectant or recent mothers, another for children of school age. . . . I believe there is a bill calling eventually for thirty million dollars a year for school-hygiene work—another for

industrial hygiene, one for tuberculosis, another for acute communicable diseases, and one for the promotion of mental hygiene—which by this time might be seriously needed."

This witness can scarcely realize the necklaces of pearls he has cast at the feet of organizers of the job leagues of the future. Any competent job counselor could get underwritten a council or a committee or an association for any one of these great national problems in six months.

"If we think of the representatives of these various agencies all over the country to do field work," the doctor goes on, "we get a vision of what would be doing at the county courthouse on some bright morning. We should see an automobile starting out to carry a nurse to look after a mother thirty miles away in one corner of the county; another automobile leaves just behind the first, carrying a specialist to look after a school child living, perhaps, in the same home to which the first is destined. Then another starts, and then another, until we see on the road, just far enough apart to keep out of one another's dust, ten automobiles, variously labeled, each carrying a specialist or super-specialist engaged to do some one kind of health work for that county. It would be entertaining, but expensive. The taxpayers of a community would never think of supporting such a proposition, and they would probably have some long, long thoughts to express to Congress."

Yes, but do you know of any Washington agency for which we are or have been taxed to be abolished because of these long, long thoughts? They and the taxes go right on.

If they have their way the public-health service will be ruined by the scattered and irreconcilable federatizing of various councils and leagues—and at the same time it will be ennobled into a full-fledged department.

Save the Men of Fifty!

Not that I am opposed to all these measures. I think now of something for which the people might be taxed with profit—to the organizers, anyhow. Take men past fifty—there should be a service for conserving them. Look at the situation: We rear a man to the age of fifty, getting him through the crises of measles, chicken pox, enterocolitis, poliomyelitis, mumps, scarlet fever, whooping cough, tennis, baseball, holes in the ice, swimming, lovesickness, choice of occupation, and early blunders until he has become practically immune to old diseases and new ideas, settling down to tobacco, golf and the Republican Party. He is our great factor of safety. And what happens? He goes and dies on us. The waste of men past fifty is simply criminal. Brethren, these things ought not so to be! There should be a law passed to conserve men past fifty, and the public-health service should have nothing to do with it except to run errands for whoever is in charge. And who should be in charge? Well, that is something to be pondered, and when we get our federation underwritten we shall have special pondering equipment for that purpose.

A Connecticut lady in writing to the House of Representatives in opposition to the Sheppard-Towner Bill for the protection of infancy and maternity grew rather caustic at the provision that the advisory committee provided for in it should be composed, to the extent of at least half, of women. She suggested that as long as jobs were sought they should be given to mothers, and that the amateur advice of spinsters and childless women is not what the mothers of this country need. Now if they want jobs the law for the conservation of men past fifty — But no! I will not yield to the temptation to be smart at the expense of the spinsters who have made the name "old maid" revered by their devotion to the welfare of the race. It is a cheap jest, by whomsoever indulged in. When one thinks of the great women to whom we owe so much, and who, though unwedded, have brought forth in travail great reforms, ideas pregnant with good for the liberation of mankind, with the amelioration of evils which have degraded and imbruted us, with the promise of peace to a distraught world; who have sent gleams of light into darkness; who have been the mothers of motherhood itself — ere I, who am unworthy to unlatch the latchets of the shoes of their ideals, allow myself to descend to this scurrile quip, may my



National Bank of Commerce in New York

Unemployed Funds

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Capital, Surplus and Undivided Profits
Over Fifty-five Million Dollars

typewriter be gummed up and ankylosed at every joint, and my fountain pen dried up!

Look over the field of bureauism, however, and consider it well. It is a part of our Government—unofficial, but nevertheless a part of it. It is a confusing, distracting spectacle of countercurrents, divisive strife, cat-hauling and interference with the Government. Everywhere it is a display of class consciousness, except as to some good lobbies to which I belong, as the National Popular Government League, and the National Community Board, which latter seeks to organize everybody. Some of these classes have good ideas, some bad, some represent light, some darkness; some are, as things go, necessary to counteract others. To say that it is all wrong would be going far. Mere job bureaus are mischievous. The strong bureaus are useful or harmful, according to the taste of the observer; but they are influential. That is the main point—they are influential organized minorities.

I suppose in a manner of speaking many of these bureaus are lobbies; but I have not called them that, because the popular notion of a lobby is something quite different. Should not their influence, and that of all others seeking as minorities to influence legislation, be exercised in an open and legal way?

Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, has introduced a bill to legalize and control them and make their activities public. It proposes that every person or organization seeking to influence legislation shall register, and describe what it is it wants. There will be such a docket in every department also. There will be punishments for lobbying in an unauthorized and illegal way. Why not? Their working on public officers is a part of government—a big part. Even though this law drives back to the provinces, whence they came, all the lame ducks with the privileges of the floor—still, I ask, why not? Open lobbying openly arrived at—surely we can all agree to that.

THE NAVAL RESERVE A GREAT NATIONAL ASSET

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In April, 1917, with the idea that they could obtain high rank by some quick magic were soon undeceived. They and their associates soon learned that Mr. Edison was right. A lady, enthusiastic over the achievements of Mr. Edison, said she envied his inspiration. "Madam," he is reported to have replied, "if I have had any inspiration, nine-tenths of it was perspiration."

When the war began, the first need of the Navy was capable officers. There were only four sources of supply to supplement the graduates of the naval academy: First, experienced men already in the Navy, especially those who had risen to the grade of warrant officers, and whose practical training particularly qualified them for the immediate duty in hand; second, men in the merchant marine with seagoing experience who were available immediately for important duties; third, civilians who had served in the naval militia; and fourth, able and active young men in civil life who felt the call to service afloat. The first three classes were at once taken into the Navy and given positions of responsibility, and they more than measured up to expectations. Some of them indeed rendered, in the places to which they were assigned, service which has never been excelled.

From Shops to Ships

But there was need for many more officers, and we turned to the apt and alert young men in schools, in shops, in professions and on the farms. Most of them received their intensive training on board ship, but the Navy was able to give 1790 a special course at the naval academy. These secured their designation by competition with all other reservists, and therefore came with the imprimatur of approval from ships or shore stations. After the thorough intensive course at Annapolis they went immediately to service afloat, and from admirals and captains I received such reports as gave proof of their efficiency. Quickly mastering the rudiments of naval learning and practice under the stimulus of war, they did so well that they were keen competitors in efficiency in the special duties they performed with those who had enjoyed a full four-year course at the naval academy. I have in mind a case illustrative of others which gave a new high place to reservists. A young attorney was ordered to the special training at the naval academy, took to naval studies as a duck takes to water, graduated at the head of his class, was sent abroad as officer in a destroyer, and showed in a marked way what a civilian can do who has a trained mind when he applies it to a new and abstruse subject. Not only was he proficient in the books taught at Annapolis; he was soon quite at home on the destroyer, and by concentrating upon the practical job showed that brains and will can accomplish whatever they undertake. There were others like this young man who did the job splendidly, and many more whose regret was that the war ended before they got a chance to go overseas and take a whack at a sub.

Before hostilities ended 30,368 reservists were commissioned or warrant officers, nearly three times as many as the total,

10,590, in the regular Navy. They served on vessels of every type, from submarine chasers to battleships. On the transports the larger percentage of the officers were reservists. The usual plan was to have the duties of the captain, executive officer, chief engineer, gunnery officers, senior supply and medical officers performed by regulars, the others being of the reserve force. Out of a total of, say, thirty officers on board a transport twenty-four of them would be reserve officers. They were of duty on deck, in the engine room, in the sick quarters, in the supply office and in practically every part of the ship.

The rapidity with which these civilians were turned into competent officers was remarkable, and this was due not only to their native aptitude and zeal but to the ability and energy which the regular officers devoted to instructing the newcomers. As in all other activities of the Navy, it was teamwork that won. Naval officers receive a broad and thorough training, not only in navigation, engineering, gunnery, ship construction, strategy and tactics but in diplomacy and history, and most of all in how to deal with men. And regulars and reservists worked together with a unity of purpose and effort that brought immediate results.

Of course these new men could not in a few months acquire all the knowledge of a regular officer who studies for years and makes the Navy his lifetime profession. There is truth in the old saying that it takes ten years to make a thorough naval officer. But it was found entirely practicable to take intelligent young men of education and brains, or brains and aptitude, and train them within a few months for the specific duties which they were expected to perform—and which they did perform with credit to themselves and the service.

Special Reservist Schools

Special schools for teaching reservists of various kinds were established. Some were for instruction in deck duties—those performed by an officer on the bridge of a ship conducting its movements. This included the command and direction of a division or company of the crew. It also required a knowledge of navigation, and most of the navigating officers of the reserve were drawn from those who had served in the merchant marine and had seagoing experience. Other schools taught engineering duties, involving the study of electrical and steam engines and all the various parts and functions of a ship's machinery. From these schools the officer candidates, who were not confirmed in their commissions until they actually demonstrated their fitness, were sent to sea, where they continued training aboard ships in the duties they were to perform, the engineers going to the engine room, the deck officers to the bridge. Commanding officers were required to give them every opportunity for instruction, and to report in from one to three months on their efficiency.

The candidate was given every chance to learn and qualify; older officers helped him all they could. But it was up to him.

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